

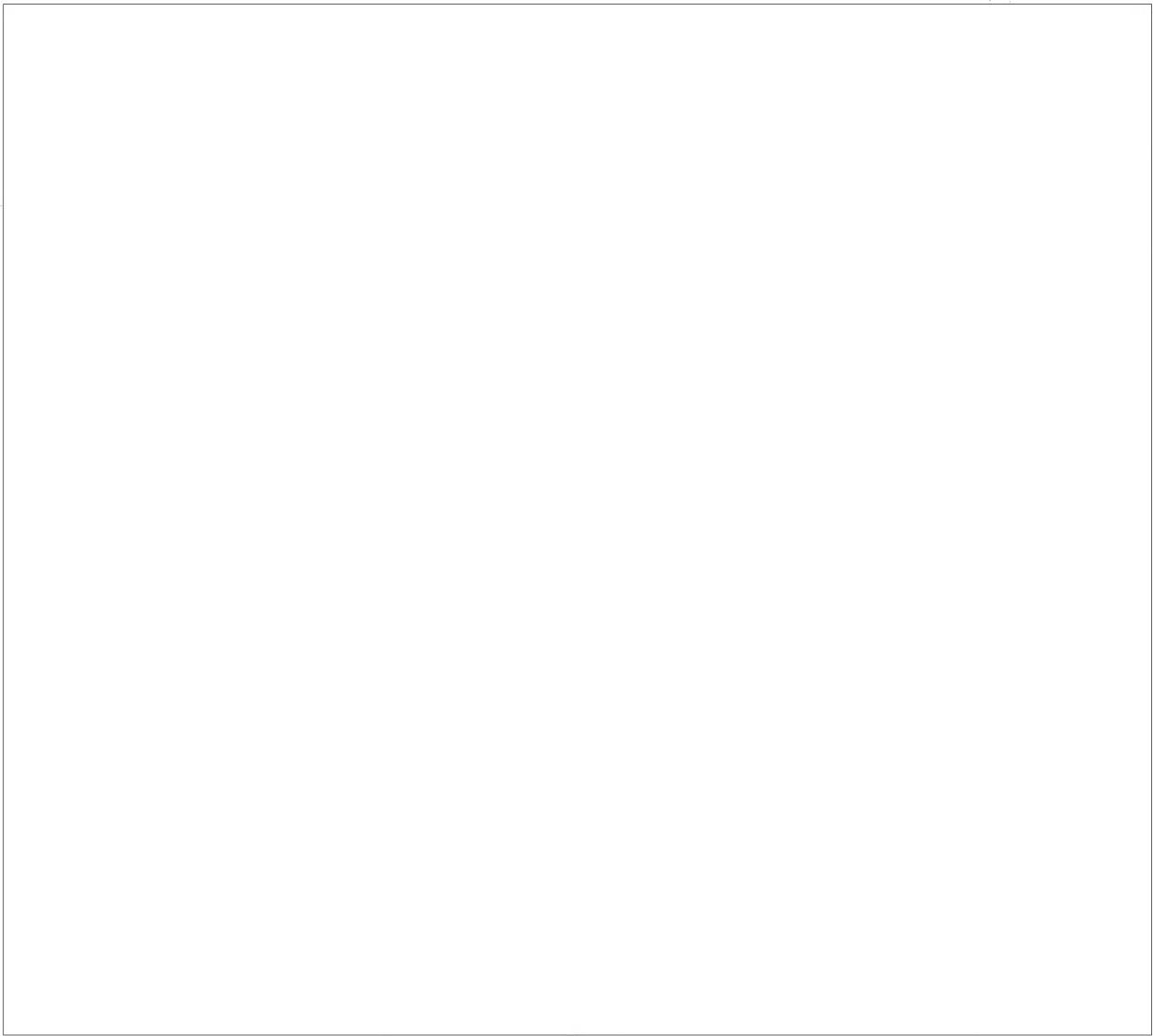
APPROVED FOR  
RELEASE DATE:  
10-May-2011

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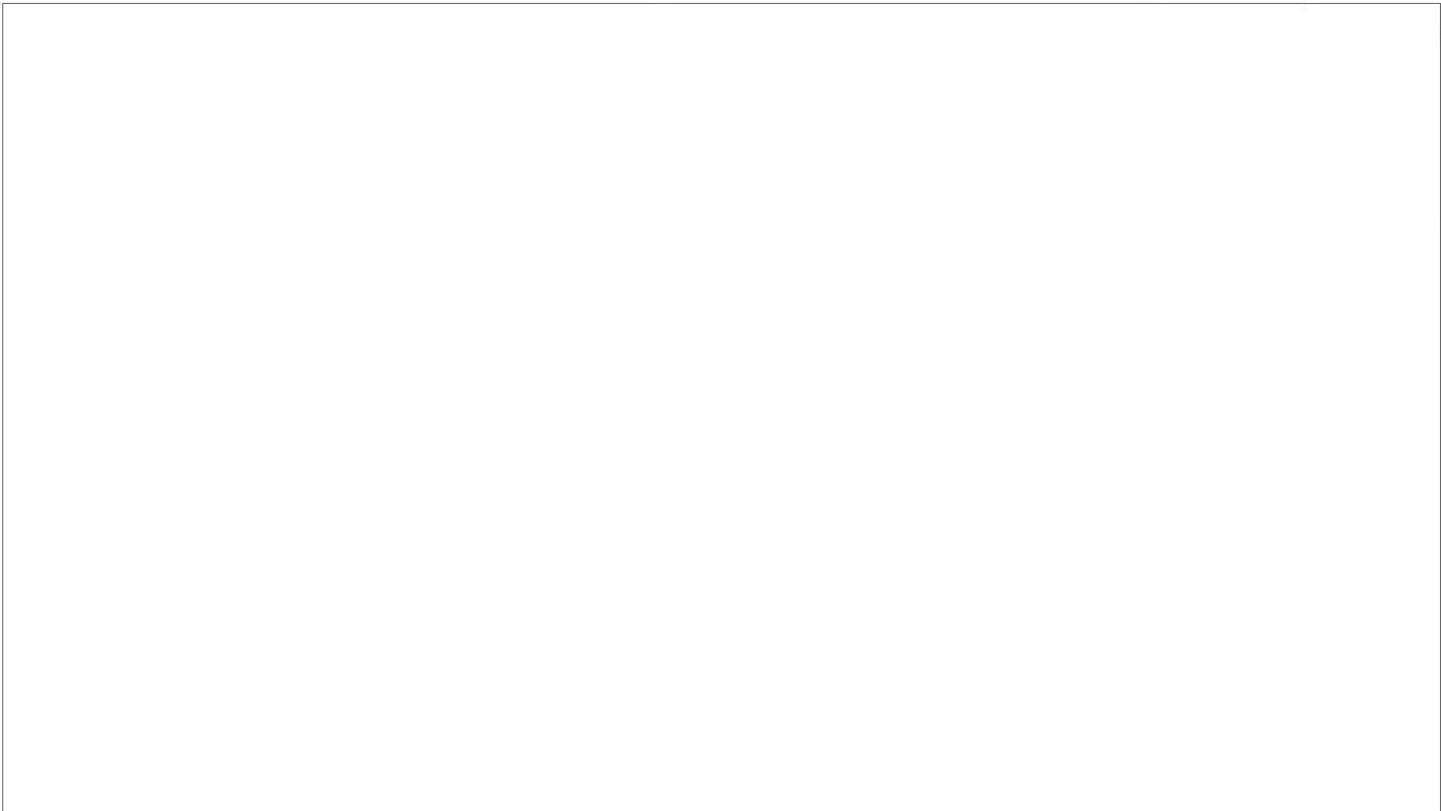
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Classify as Appropriate

DAC-03409-00







~~DISCLASSIFIED~~  
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The National Security Archive

The George Washington University  
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<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>

**FAX COVER SHEET**

Date: Aug 7, 2000

To: Ms. Ana Gilshur for Director Tenet and Spokesman Mark Mansfield

Organization: Central Intelligence Agency

From: Tom Blanton Director National Security Archive

Number of pages (including cover sheet) 5

If there is a problem with this transmission, please call us at  
202-994-7000 as soon as possible.

**Message:**

Ms. Gilshur: Thank you for passing these onto Director Tenet and Mr. Mansfield. This is of the utmost urgency since the director is making a decision early this week on this matter. It would be imperative for him to be aware of this letter at the earliest possible time today. We would like Mr. Mansfield, who has repeatedly promised the release of these documents, to also be aware that his credibility is being directly challenged.

thank you. Peter Kornbluh

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August 4, 2000

The Honorable George Tenet  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington D.C. 20505

Dear Director Tenet:

As you know, National Security Advisor Samuel Berger wrote me on November 30, 1999 (copy attached) to provide assurances that the CIA would review and release significant documentation on U.S. covert operations in Chile in the early 1970s, pursuant to the White House directive to declassify documents on Chile. At the time, I commended you and the Agency to the press for making the decision to use the opportunity of the Administration's Chile Declassification Project to open the files on this controversial history and, by so doing, put this episode behind the CIA as an institution.

I have been informed, however, that with only a few weeks left before the publication deadline scheduled for September 14, 2000, the CIA's Directorate of Operations is now seeking to block the release of precisely the documents that Mr. Berger pledged the CIA would declassify. In fact, because of that obstruction, the CIA has already missed several of the interim processing deadlines that are required in order to make the promised release date. Apparently, the DO is attempting to reverse the responsible decision that you and the Agency took last fall.

I strongly suspect that the DO higher-ups who are arguing against release are not aware that the overall story and many of the details of the Chile operations were declassified 25 years ago, with the two extensive reports by the Church Committee citing the specific CIA documents at issue here. This fact renders baseless the argument that releasing the documents in substantive form will somehow expose intelligence methods or damage U.S. national security.

I am reminded of a similar argument the CIA's general counsel made ten years ago seeking to withhold a document on Operation Mongoose on the grounds that it contained "a viable blueprint for future operations." A judge reviewed the document, which dealt with a 1962 helium balloon propaganda airdrop operation over Cuba, and promptly ordered it declassified virtually in its entirety.

More importantly, withholding the Chile documents at this point in the process will violate pledges by Mr. Berger, by the CIA officially, and by the President. The relevant quotes are attached to this letter. Withholding the documents at this point will only confirm those who think the worst of the CIA, and imply that the CIA is covering its own sins. Far from putting this story behind you, the CIA will exacerbate the public's lack of trust in the Agency. I urge you to confirm your decision of last year and order the maximum disclosure of the Chile documents.

Respectfully,  
  
Thomas S. Blanton  
Executive Director

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1999

Dear Mr. Blanton:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Chile Declassification Project. I appreciate your recognition of the efforts by agencies to collect, review, and declassify documents related to human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence in Chile during and prior to the Pinochet era.

As you know, some 5,800 documents were included in the initial release in late June. Since your letter, we have released 1,100 additional documents, bringing the total released thus far to nearly 7,000. Agencies are continuing to review documents, and a final release of documents from 1968 through the final years of Pinochet's rule will take place next spring.

You expressed several concerns about the role of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in this project, with particular reference to the Agency's compliance with the provisions of the NSC Tasker issued on February 1 of this year. The CIA has released 600 documents thus far, and expects to release many more in the final phase of the project. These documents have covered several subjects you cite, including the 1973 coup, Operation Condor, and Chile's Directorate of National Intelligence.

I have received assurances that CIA material reviewed and released in the final phase will include a substantial number of documents covering other key subjects you cite. In particular, the CIA's search and review of documents in the final phase will include relevant operational records, such as documents related to covert action, documents associated with the Church Committee hearings in 1975, and operational files disseminated outside the Directorate of Operations.

I also want to assure you that the CIA is not blocking the release of relevant records identified by the Nixon Presidential Materials Staff. A number of such records were suspended from release based on questions raised by several agencies. We will review and release as much as possible from all records that fall within the scope of the Tasker.

I have urged the CIA and other agencies to release as much information from relevant documents as possible, consistent with their obligations to protect the national security. In practice, this means that some material may not be released. As the President's Executive Order 12958 recognizes, even documents more than 25 years old may contain information that warrants continued protection. We believe the appropriate method of appealing agency withholding decisions is through the mechanisms already established by E.O. 12958 and the Freedom of Information Act.

Our declassification effort thus far has shed a significant amount of light on the facts of the Pinochet era, but we can and should add to that record. I have asked my staff to monitor closely the final phase of this project to ensure that all agencies fulfill their commitment to release as much information as possible about these tragic events.

Again, thank you for writing concerning this important matter.

Sincerely,



Samuel R. Berger  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Mr. Thomas S. Blanton  
National Security Archive  
The George Washington University  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

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## THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S CHILE DECLASSIFICATION PROJECT

### Commitments and Promises to Declassify CIA Records on Covert Action

*"I think you're entitled to know what happened back then, and how it happened."*

--President Clinton, during a press conference in Canada responding to a question on CIA resistance to declassifying documents on Chile, October 8, 1999.

*CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield "said the CIA recognizes its obligation to release documents about covert actions in Chile." 'By the time this process is completed, the documents I've mentioned will be released....'"*

*"A senior administration official overseeing the declassification process said yesterday he has a written commitment from CIA officials that such documents will be reviewed and released."*

--As reported in the Washington Post, October 7, 1999

*"CIA spokesman Mike Mansfield promised that 'covert action-related documents will be reviewed for declassification and released in the future.'"*

--As reported in the Washington Post, October 9, 1999

*"I have received assurances that CIA material reviewed and released in the final phase will include a substantial number of documents covering other key subjects you cite. In particular, the CIA's search and review of documents in the final phase will include relevant operational records, such as documents related to covert action, documents associated with the Church Committee hearings in 1975, and operational files disseminated outside the Directorate of Operations."*

--National Security Advisor Samuel Berger  
in a November 30, 1999 letter to the National Security Archive

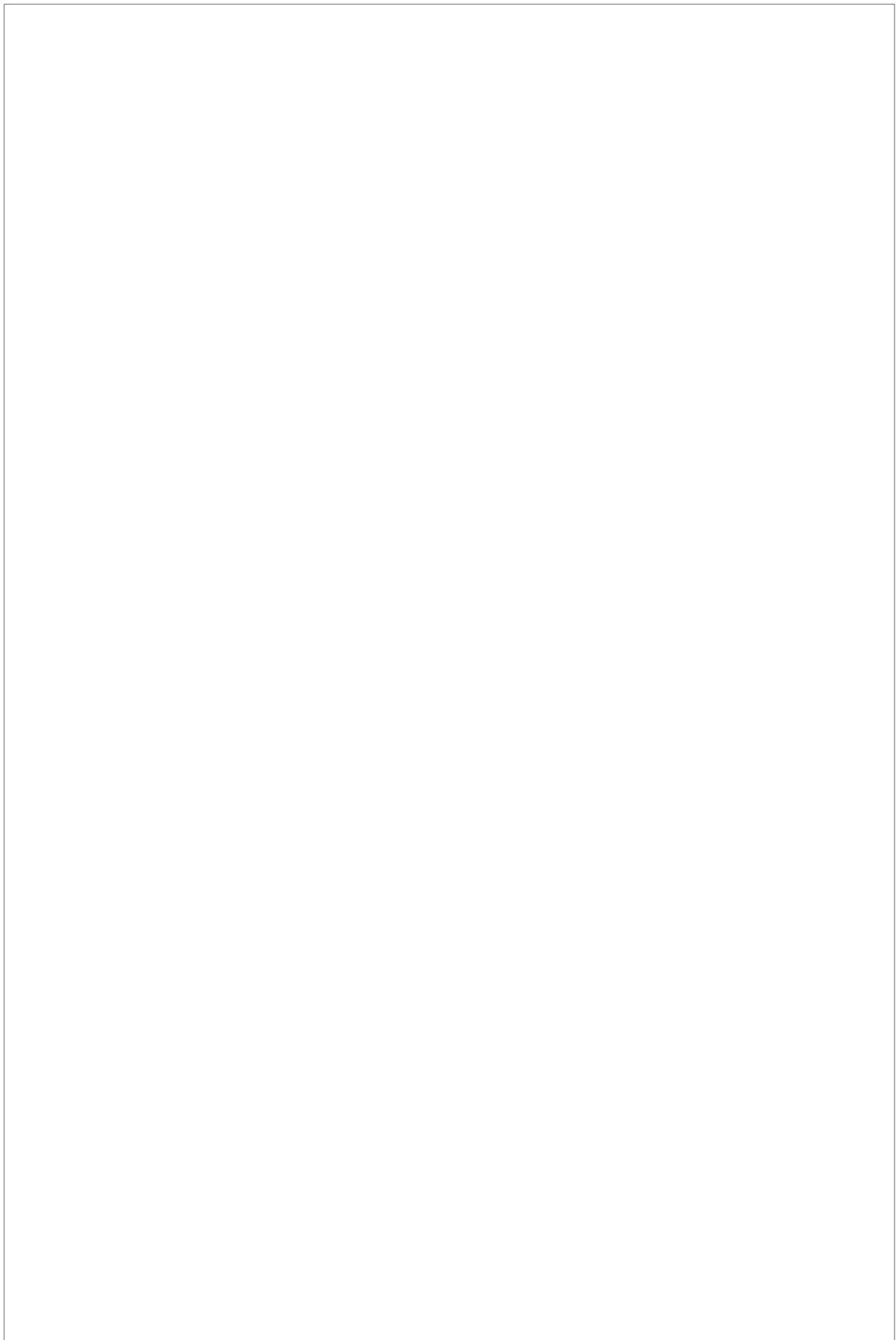
*"On behalf of the President...you should retrieve and review for declassification documents that shed light on human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence in Chile from 1968-78 to ensure that a balanced view of events emerges."*

--From the NSC Tasker on Chile Declassification, February 1, 1999









NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7624

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

COL. MARIA I. CRIBBS  
Executive Secretary  
Department of Defense

MS. ADRIENNE THOMAS  
Assistant Archivist for  
Administrative Services  
National Archives and Records  
Administration

MS. FRANCES F. TOWNSEND  
Counsel for Intelligence  
Policy  
Department of Justice

MR. THOMAS H. WOLFE  
Executive Secretary  
Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT: Declassifying Documents Related to Human Rights  
Abuses in Chile

On February 1 of this year, on behalf of the President, we asked for your cooperation in undertaking a compilation and review for release of all documents that shed light on human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence during and prior to the Pinochet era in Chile. We commend the extraordinary efforts of each agency to collect, review and declassify nearly 7,000 documents thus far.

The scope of the February 1 Tasker and related clarifications extended to documents dated from 1968-78; that guidance remains in effect for documents dated prior to 1979. In particular, the release standards set forth in the February 1 Tasker, including the reference to Sec. 3.4(b) of Executive Order 12958, continue to apply for documents dated 1968-78. We now ask for your continuing cooperation to complete this project by compiling and reviewing for release documents from the period 1979-91, as well as any additional relevant documents from the period 1968-78.

Scope

As in the first two phases of this undertaking, you should retrieve and review for declassification documents that shed

light on human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence in Chile. You should retrieve and review all classified documents (as well as unclassified documents not otherwise in the public domain) that are subject to disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act or authorities governing Presidential papers. As a point of departure in locating relevant documents, attached is a list of well-known cases, together with some events, places and alleged perpetrators associated with human rights abuses in Chile. The narrative section of the attachment provides context.

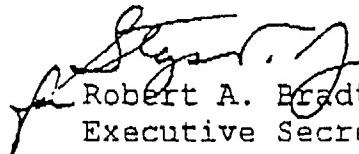
#### Release Standards

In reviewing documents dated after 1978, agencies shall release all responsive information except the following: information that requires continued classification under Sec. 1.6(d) of Executive Order 12958, information the release of which is prohibited by statute, information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, sensitive law enforcement information, and information the release of which would cause serious and identifiable harm to the deliberative process.

#### Deadlines and Interagency Coordination

Our goal is to complete this discretionary review and release of documents from 1968-91 by mid-June 2000. To monitor progress toward this goal and to resolve any questions or problems of implementation, the NSC will continue to chair an Interagency Working Group (IWG). The NSC also will chair joint declassification sessions to facilitate review of third-agency referrals as needed.

Thank you for your continued cooperation.



Robert A. Bradtke  
Executive Secretary

#### Attachment

Tab A List of Names, Incidents, and Alleged Perpetrators

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## WELL-KNOWN CASES

Orlando Letelier  
Ronni Moffitt  
Michael Moffitt  
Charles Hozman  
Frank Teruggi  
Gen. Carlos Prats Gonzalez  
Sofia Cuthbert Chiarleoni AKA Sofia Cuthbert De Prats  
Bernardo Leighton  
Anita Fresno (wife of Leighton)  
Carmelo Soria  
Jaime Guzman  
Gen. Rene Schneider  
Brigadier General Alberto Bachelet  
Carmen Gloria Quintana  
Rodrigo Rojas  
Tucapel Jimenez  
Juan Alegria Mundalca

## PLACES AND INCIDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH ABUSES OR VIOLENCE

National stadium AKA soccer stadium  
Dawson Island  
Operation Condor  
Caravan of Death  
Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR)  
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)  
National Intelligence Directorate (DINA)  
National Information Center (CNI)  
Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL)  
Mulchen Brigade  
Socialist Party of Chile (PS)  
Communist Party of Chile (PCCH)  
State Intelligence Service of Argentina (SIDE)  
Villa Grimaldi  
Navarino Island  
Colonia Dignidad  
Esmeralda (Navy training ship)  
Pisagua  
Operation Albania

## ALLEGED PERPETRATORS

Gen. Sergio Arrellano Stark  
Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda  
Brig. Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo  
Armando Fernandez Larios

UNCLASSIFIED

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## ALLEGED PERPETRATORS (Continued)

Sergio Arredondo  
Marcelo Moren Brito  
Michael Townley  
Enrique Arrancibia  
Virgilio Paz  
Alvin Ross Diaz  
Odalanier Mena  
Augusto Pinochet  
Julio Corbalan Castilla, AKA Alvaro Corbalan  
General Robert Vieux  
Gustavo Leigh Guzman  
General Camilo Valenzuela  
Ignacio Novo  
Guillermo Novo  
Dionisio Suarez  
General Augusto Lutz  
Victor Hugo Barria Barria

## CONTEXT

The period 1968-70 in Chile was characterized by increasing left-wing violence, including by the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). Following the election of Socialist President Salvador Allende, there was increasing violence by both the opponents and the supporters of his government, increasing societal instability, and increasingly acute political conflict. The Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean army, General Rene Schneider, died of wounds he received in an apparent kidnapping attempt just before Allende's confirmation as President by the Chilean Congress in October, 1970. In September 1973, a violent coup brought General Augusto Pinochet to power. The first years of the military regime were marked by serious human rights violations, and at least 3000 persons died or disappeared. In the immediate aftermath of the coup, many detained persons were brought to the National Stadium, where many died. Two U.S. citizens, Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi, were among the regime's early victims. Among those allegedly connected to the disappearance of Charles Horman were General Augusto Lutz and Victor Hugo Barria Barria. The so-called "Caravan of Death," allegedly directed by General Sergio Arrellano Stark, resulted in the death and disappearance of at least 70 victims in northern Chile. Many persons were allegedly detained and sometimes tortured in camps such as Dawson Island, or at other locales including Navarino Island, Villa Grimaldi, the Esmeralda

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naval training ship, and later, Colonia Dignidad. Air Force Brigadier General Alberto Bachelet, former head of the National Secretariat for Distribution, was among those who died in custody. The regime particularly targeted adherents of the left-wing parties, the Socialist Party of Chile (PS) and the Communist Party of Chile (PCC). Violent opposition to the regime was mounted by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, by the armed wing of the Communist Party, and by other radical left groups including the MIR, reportedly with assistance from Vietnam and Cuba.

Many other opponents of the regime, including many Christian Democrats, were exiled. Beginning in 1974, the regime targeted selected opponents abroad. General Carlos Prats and his wife were assassinated in Buenos Aires in 1974. Christian Democrat Bernardo Leighton and his wife were attacked in Rome in 1975, but survived. Of particular interest, former Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffitt, a U.S. citizen, were assassinated by a car-bomb in Washington, D.C., in September 1976. Ronni Moffitt's husband, Michael Moffitt, was in the car but survived. A U.S. investigation identified numerous persons as involved in the Letelier/Moffitt murders, including Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Brigadier Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo, Armando Fernandez Larios, Michael Townley, Ignacio Novo, Guillermo Novo, Dionisio Suarez, and Virgilio Paz. Contreras was head of the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), which together with its successor organization, the National Information Center (CNI), was reportedly responsible for many abuses. The regime reportedly collaborated with the military and intelligence services of other South American countries, including the State Intelligence Service of Argentina (SIDE), to abduct or otherwise abuse its opponents abroad, under the auspices of the so-called "Operation Condor." There are reports that, in addition to Chile and Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru participated in "Operation Condor."

In the 1980's political violence continued but was less frequent than in the 1970's. Large anti-Pinochet demonstrations were fuelled by a severe economic downturn in 1982. Union leader Tucapel Jimenez was killed in 1982; Juan Alegria Mundalca was allegedly killed as part of a coverup in the Jimenez case. In 1985 three communists (the "degollados") were killed by the slitting of their throats. Carmen Gloria Quintana and Rodrigo Rojas were reportedly burned by a military patrol in 1986; Mr. Rojas died of his burns. The same year the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) attempted to assassinate General Pinochet. In 1987

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the regime reportedly undertook the so-called "Albania Operation" in which 12 FPMR members were killed. Alvaro Corbalan Castilla, among others, has been accused of participation in that operation.

Democracy was restored in 1990, and President Aylwin appointed a truth and reconciliation commission under the leadership of Raul Rettig to examine human rights abuses under the military regime. The commission report, known as the Rettig Report, published in the spring of 1991, detailed more than 2000 deaths. Meanwhile, extreme left groups such as the dissident wing of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR-D) and the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL) continued acts of political violence. In April 1991, a leading right-wing politician, Jaime Guzman, was assassinated.

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## ALLEGED PERPETRATORS (Continued)

Sergio Arredondo  
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Virgilio Paz  
Alvin Ross Diaz  
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Augusto Pinochet  
Julio Corbalan Castilla, AKA Alvaro Corbalan  
General Robert Viaux  
Gustavo Leigh Guzman  
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34 Alleged Torture Cases 1988-1990

1. Wilson Fernando Valdebenito Juica  
Date of Alleged Torture: December 15, 1988
  2. Juan Fuentes Sepúlveda  
Date of Alleged Torture: December 16, 1988
  3. Dolores Paz Cautivo Ahumada  
Date of Alleged Torture: December 31, 1988
  4. Pedro Alberto Ciudad Palma  
Date of Alleged Torture:
  5. Héctor Was...  
Date
  6. Pablo  
Date
  7. Claudio  
Date of
  8. Lincoyán  
Dates of
  9. Claudio Tc  
Date of Al.
  10. Hernán Sepú  
Date of Alle
  11. Marcos Quezac  
Date of Allego
  12. Manuel Antonio  
Date of Alleged
  13. Edmundo Meza Sch.  
Date of Alleged
  14. Jorge Alejandro E.  
Date of Alleged Tc
- Rec'd from  
Bill Leary  
9 Dec*

15. Marcos Antonio Mardones Villarroel  
Date of Alleged Torture: July 15, 1989 and August 1, 1989
16. Guillermo Saladort Caldérón Leiva  
Date of Alleged Torture: July 19, 1989
17. Jessica Antonia Liberona Ninoles  
Dates of Alleged Torture: August 20-mid September 1989
18. Andrea Fabiola Oyarzún Alvarado  
Dates of Alleged Torture: August 20-September 10, 1989
19. Hilda Oriana Alvarado Jara  
Dates of Alleged Torture: August 20-September 10, 1989
20. Luis Orlando Vargas Miranda  
Date of Alleged Torture: August 22, 1989
21. Julio Enrique Gerding Salas  
Date of Alleged Torture: August 28, 1989
22. Jorge Muzz Fernando  
Dates of Alleged Torture: August 29-September 10, 1989
23. Avelino Villarroel Muñoz  
Date of Alleged Torture: September 1, 1989
24. Víctor Alfonso Díaz González  
Date of Alleged Torture: September 24, 1989
25. Leonor Clara Espinoza Parra  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 18-27, 1989
26. Patricia Irrazábal  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 26-unknown date November, 1989
27. Marcos Ariel Antonioletti Ruiz  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 26, 1989 and November 17, 1990
28. Héctor Raúl Irrazábal Moya  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 26-beginning of November 1989

29. Marcos Paulsen Figueroa  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 26-November 1,  
1989
30. Andrea Paulsen Figueroa  
Dates of Alleged Torture: October 27, 1989-early  
November, 1989
31. Claudio Varela Moya  
Date of Alleged Torture: November 10, 1989
32. Marcelo Arturo Garay Vergara  
Dates of Alleged Torture: November 30, 1989-January 1,  
1990
33. Luis Leyton Chamorro  
Date of Alleged Torture: December 5, 1989
34. Marcelo Samuel Gutiérrez Hernández  
Date of Alleged Torture: December 21, 1989

## WELL-KNOWN CASES

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Michael Moffitt  
Charles Norman  
Frank Teruggi  
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Anita Fresno (wife of Leighton)  
Carmelo Soria  
Jaime Guzman  
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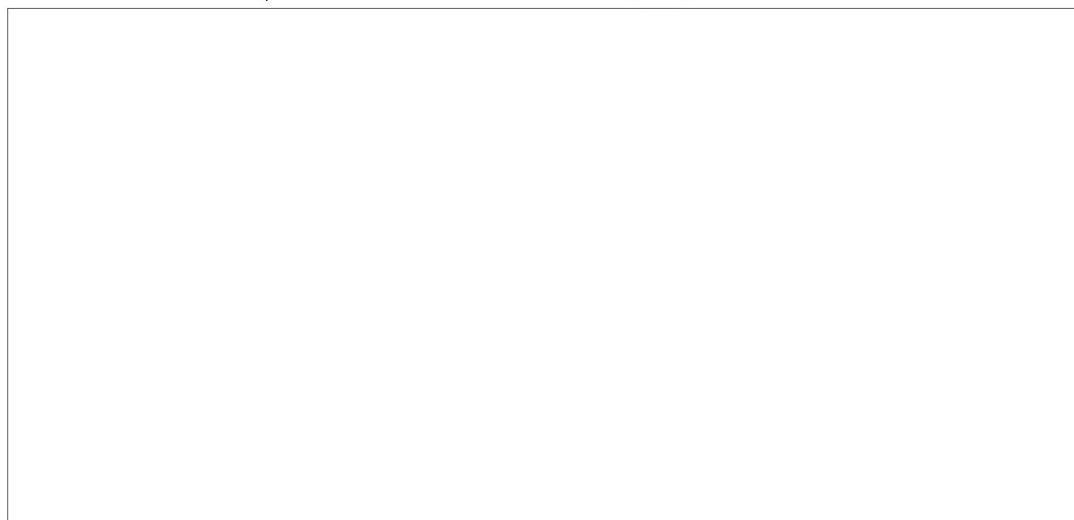
Gen. Sergio Arrellano Stark  
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Armando Fernandez Larios

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from attachments~~

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~~SECRET~~



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